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Wood Resources

To Hotu-matua, who first settled the island, tradition attributes the introduction of all the species of flora of economic use. Among them is the following list of trees, enumerated in the native version of the legend given to me by Tepano: ***mahute, hauhau, toro-miro, naunau, marikuru.*** With the exception of the paper mulberry it is possible that some of them "belonged to the original flora and that the natives who were acquainted with their useful qualities started to propagate them" (208, vol. 2, p. 77). From this list it is clear that the Easter Islanders did not lack wood necessary for the development of their culture, though many writers assume as much in order to increase the mystery of the island. Therefore I consider it extremely important to give the opinion of a prominent botanist, Dr. Carl Skottsberg (208, vol. 2, p. 402):

> . . . And I have been led to believe that some kind of forest once existed in Easter Island, formed by Sophora; and other species, exterminated long ago, may also have occurred. No native tradition tells us anything about these forests, but we can safely conclude that the *toromiro* must have been plentiful. The natives used much wood, not only for the construction of canoes, paddle oars, frame work for their houses and some other necessary things, but they also manufactured small wooden statues and many other ornaments famous for their artistic value, and these must have existed by thousands. The *toromiro* is a small tree, and with a population once amounting to several thousands the supply became exhausted. Cultivated fields and enclosures spread all over the place, crowding out the indigenous vegetation. Paper mulberry, *Cordyline, Sapindus,* bananas, cane, taro, sweet potato, etc. were introduced by the natives, and some weeds accompanied them. Many more have been introduced later, when communications with Tahiti and Chile were established; some have become naturalized and form an important feature in the present-day grassland.

Among the trees introduced in the last 60 years, the most common are the *miro-tahiti,* the Eucalyptus, the fig, and the orange. In the gardens of the English residence at Mataveri grow a great many imported plants and new ones are continually being acclimated. The islanders use much wood for the curios that they exchange for clothes and other supplies. Therefore they do not hesitate to destroy a tree to transform it into a score of wooden images. Indeed their destructiveness has become such a nuisance that, outside the residence of the managers, the English company has planted Eucalyptus, the wood of which cannot be carved.

The natives of old used not only the trees growing on the land for the wood they needed but also driftwood which was greatly appreciated. There is a tale of a marvelous tree which landed on the island, sent by the spirit of a man to his son. The arrival of the tree caused great excitement nearly resulting in a fight between groups of islanders, all eager to make precious ornaments from it. (See p. 376.)

Analyses of the wood in some of the scripture tablets and wooden images reveal the use of much *Podocarpus latifolia* and of *Dammara australis,* trees

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six to ten feet high" and attributes the disappearance of the tree to the ravages of cattle and sheep. In 1885 Thomson (215, p. 456) and Cooke (54, p. 705) saw "small clumps of Edwardsia, Broussonetia and hibiscus, but all were dead, having been stripped of their bark by the flocks of sheep, which roam at will over the island. None of these trees were over 10 feet high." The biggest trunk they saw measured 5 inches in diameter. Today the only *toro-miro* on the island is growing in the bottom of Rano-kao, protected by rocks from voracious sheep. Its trunk is about 4 inches thick. It has been fully described by Skottsberg (208, vol. 2, pp. 73-74, 77) who considers it an endemic species.

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HAU

Hau trees (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) were seen by early visitors to the island. The fibers of *hau* bark were twisted into string and rope, and its wood was used for producing fire. Now only a few *hau* grow in the interior of Rano-kao.

MAKOI

The *makoi* (*Thespesia populnea*) is a rare tree on Easter Island. Neither Fuentes nor Skottsberg saw a single specimen. However the tree did grow there in the eighteenth century. G. Forster (84, vol. 1, p. 569) speaks of "some bushes of the Hibiscus populneus which is common also in the Society Islands where it is one of the numerous plants made use to dye yellow." G. Forster (83) reports *Hibiscus bacciferus* which is considered identical with *Thespesia populnea*. The wood of one of the tablets in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Vienna (22869) has been analyzed as *Thespesia populnea* by Conrad and Guillaumin of the Muséum National d'histoire naturelle of Paris (131, p. 68).

This tree is frequently alluded to in legend and songs. It is considered one of the trees introduced by Hotu-matua and there is a song (p. 353) about "spinning tops" made of *makoi* fruits. Different objects were pointed out to me as being made of *makoi*. The only *makoi* trees that I saw were growing on the side of the high cliffs of Poike where they cannot be reached, though I was able to collect many dry fruits at the base of the cliffs. These were subsequently identified in Paris as the fruit of *Thespesia populnea*. In Tahiti and Mangaia, children make their tops of the fruit of the *Thespesia*.

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MARIKURU

The exploring party sent by Captain Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 285) found at the southwest corner of the island "a small shrub whose wood was white and brittle, and in some measure, as also its leaves, resembling the ash." G. Forster (83, p. 178) identifies it as the *Sapindus saponaria*. The native name, *marikuru*, has been recorded by Cooke (54, p. 722) who describes it as a variety of the ash tree. According to Fuentes there were some trees of *Sapindus* near Tahai on the west coast and in Hotu-iti in 1911. The Bishop Museum herbarium has specimens of leaves and branches of *marikuru* collected recently in the interior of Rano-kao and classified as *Sapindus saponaria*.

A white color substance was extracted from the rotten stumps or branches of the *marikuru*. Fuentes (85, p. 323) says that the fruits of the *Sapindus* were used for necklaces.

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SANDALWOOD

Sandalwood, *naunau* (*Santalum*), is first referred to from Easter Island by G. Forster (84, vol. 1, p. 583) in discussing the wooden hand now in the British Museum: "The wood of which it was made was the rare perfumed wood of Taheitee, with the chips of which they communicate fragrance to their oils." Cooke (54, p. 722) translates the word *naunau* as "bastard sandalwood." The *naunau* figures among the trees that Hotu-matua introduced on the island. My informant gave "sandal" as the Spanish equivalent for the word *naunau* and remarked that the tree had entirely disappeared since the time of Salmon (between

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137 1880 and 1890). The last one on the island grew near Vai-mata but died recently "because there were no more kings." From the distribution of the sandalwood, it seems likely that the *ngaoao* was the true sandalwood and not the bastard. Sandalwood is found on the atolls of Elizabeth and Ducie, the nearest islands to Easter Island.

UNIDENTIFIED TREES

De la Maza (208, vol. 1, p. 7) mentions an unknown tree about which he writes: "The *tumahiti* wood is rather hard and more or less pliable. The Kanakas use it to make yokes and ploughs. It is the only tree which grows freely in the island. Its fruit is oval in shape, yellowish, about half an inch in length and it tastes rather bitter."

It is likely that De la Maza has misspelled the name of the *miro-tahiti* (*Melia azedarach*), the wood generally used by the natives for wooden images and implements.

ANIMAL LIFE

136 973 Before man settled on Easter Island, animal life in its highest form was represented by flocks of sea birds, which nested on the three islets off the southwestern promontory—Motu-kaukau (Needle Rock), Motu-iti, and Motu-nui. Some birds have made their abode in the interior of Rano-kao, but a few of them are seen flying along the shores of the island itself. The native legends explain this concentration of the birds at a single point as a protective measure adopted by the god Makemake to prevent the extermination of birds by egg hunters.

136 The importance of sea birds in native mythology and art makes necessary a brief enumeration of the species identified by our Expedition. On Motu-nui, we collected petrels (*taiho, Pterodroma heraldica paschae*), gray terns (*tuvituvi, Procelsterna caerulea skottsbergi*), white terns (*kia-kia, Leucanous albus royanus*), noddy terns (*tuao, Anous stolidus unicolor*), gray-backed terns (*manutara, Sterna lunata*), boobies (*kena, Sula dactylatra* subsp. ?), tropic birds (*tavake, Phaeton* sp.), and *makohe* (*Fregata minor* subsp. ?). A specimen of *Oestrelata incerta* or *leucoptera* was designated under the name of *kumara* and a *Sula Cyanops* as *ruru*. A list of Easter Island birds published by Knoche (123, pp. 141-144) contains the word *nguingui* for the *Gygis alba* (syn. *Leucanous albus royanus*) and *rengurengu* for the *Anous caeruleus* (syn. *Anous stolidus unicolor*).

177 222 Partridges (*vivi*) were introduced by the Chileans many years ago and have propagated rapidly. Their eggs are looked for by the natives as eagerly as those of the sea birds. An unsuccessful attempt was also made to acclimatize a Chilean scavenger, the *loica* (*Leistes superciliaris*).

The harmless little lizards (*moko*) may have been stowaways on the Polynesian canoes. They have haunted the imagination of Easter Islanders, who have carved ceremonial objects in their shape.

There are few insects on the island, and their number has certainly increased since European contacts. A sort of cricket is said to have come to the island with the fleet of Von Spee. Flies and cockroaches have become pests.

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Matamea (Mars), Tautoru (The Belt of Orion), and Pau, a star which appears in October or November. The appearance of these three stars in October foretold death and evil. Fishermen were in danger of being caught by fabulous sharks (*niuhi*). Everyone had to behave properly lest a member of his family should disappear. At the end of the month, the priests climbed a tower (*tupa*) near the ahu and from there they announced to the crowd that the position of the stars had changed and that henceforth they could do no harm. Matamea and Tautoru were "bad" stars but Pau was sometimes bad and sometimes good. Reitanga is the name for Sirius. Near ahu Hihinatangi-kotea there are six boulders whose form and position are said to represent the Pleiades (Matariki) and to have been put there by Tuu-ko-ihu, the culture hero, to remind people that the Pleiades are sometimes dangerous and can bring death.

An obscure tradition connects Matamea (Mars) with the raising of certain crops. A tapu was observed as long as this star did not appear in the sky.

Routledge (194, p. 235) mentions an observatory on Poike:

> On the extremity of the eastern headland there is an outcrop of boulders, one of which is incised with a spiral design; the place is known as "Ko Te Papa-ui-hetuu", or "The Rock-for-seeing-stars" and here the old men came to watch the constellations. About two hundred yards from these boulders there is another engraved stone on which ten cup-shaped depressions are visible; this represented, it is said, "a map of the stars."

The natives did not show me this place and never mentioned it in discussions. Artificial depressions in rows or files are very frequent near the ancient settlements. Various natives interpret them differently as drops of rain, enemies slain by a famous warrior, tattooing marks, and so on.

Routledge (194, p. 235) gives the legend of the children changed into stars as the only nature myth she obtained on Easter Island. It was introduced recently by Tahitians and does not refer, as she suggests, to Orion but to 3° Scorpio or Scorpii. The Tahitian origin of the myth is well remembered by the natives, who told it to me as follows:

> A woman went to a place where there was a feast. She saw the feast and came back with her children. Her husband saw that she was not at home and stayed to watch when she would come back. When the wife came, he asked her, "Where are you coming from?" "I come from the feast with the children." "Who told you to go to the feast?" She answered: "I went there by myself."
>
> The man beat the woman, he hurt her, and she fled with the children to the sky and remained fastened there. The man shouted, "E pipiri ma, come back." "No, we shall not return; we shall stay here forever."

Routledge (194, p. 235) gives a slightly different version in which the woman was carried off by a stranger. The husband slew her, and she fled to the sky and was changed into a star. The husband took their two boys and followed her to the sky, " . . . where the three form the belt of Orion."

This myth is very popular in Tahiti and from there has spread to the

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821 Tuamotus and perhaps to Mangareva (201, p. 488). The original Tahitian myth has been changed on Easter Island. In Tahiti (38, pp. 114-115) and 773 in the Tuamotus (201, p. 488) the two children went to the sky because they 177 were angry at their parents who neglected to give them the products of a fishing party. Both parents fled to the sky in pursuit and the four were changed into stars.

Winds

192 In Easter Island, as in other parts of Polynesia, the winds are named 821 according to the direction from which they blow, and the same terms are used for the directions. I recorded the following wind names:

Tokerau: north
Papakino: north and west
Tongariki: northeast
Marengorengo (Mareioreio), Matatohio: east
Anoraro, Ohohe (?): southeast
Motu-rauri, Puhi-orongo: south
Vaitarai, Tangaroa-aria: west

The present natives do not know the exact direction of the winds. Tongariki is the name of an important ahu on the south coast, and, as *tonga* means south in most Polynesian dialects, it is very likely that Tonga-riki was also the name of the south wind. *Tonga* means winter as well. Papakino are bad (*kino*) stormy winds from north and west. Puhi-orongo (south wind) denotes the village of Orongo, on the southwestern promontory, from which the wind blows. Motu-rauri designates a rock off the south shore. Roussel (191) translates *tokerau* as south (*tokerau tai*, south sea), but *tokerau* is also the general name for wind. In Mangareva and the Tuamotus, *tokerau* means north wind. In referring to the north wind as being dangerous to the Miru, Tepano used the word *tokerau*.

A light breeze is *ara*, a strong wind accompanied by a squall is *matangi* or *puhi*, a calm is called *tae makenu*.

Some winds were considered hostile to certain tribes whose enemies are said to have attacked them when those winds blew. The winds called Papakino "made the Miru shy" and favored the Tupa-hotu. The winds Tangaroa-aria and Veki were unlucky for the Marama, and the Marengorengo (Mareioreio) and Runapiropiro boded ill for Ngaure. The members of a tribe are born and die during the blowing of their own wind.

Matangi was the general name given to me for clouds, but it seems to have been used also for a cloud that announced a strong wind. Roussel gives the word *kohu* for mist or fog. The natives classify clouds on a color basis. In this list the word *rangi* (sky) is used as a synonym for cloud. Other terms are: *rangi pungi* (big cumuli), *rangi teatea* (white clouds), *rangi uri* (dark clouds), *rangi punga kirikiri miri* (clouds alternately white and gray like the bark of certain trees), *rangi e ata* (red clouds).

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643 to Roussel (190, p. 358) kings, who in the beginning were considered deities and had absolute power on the island, did not retain such authority for long but kept only the prestige of a supernatural power and certain personal privileges. The political power of the king was slight, at least during the last period of Easter Island history; his exalted position rested mainly on the religious beliefs of the natives, and his functions, although limited, had a strong bearing upon the magico-economic structure of the island culture. (For a detailed discussion of the functions of Easter Island kingship, see Métraux, The kings of Easter Island: Polynesian Soc., Jour., vol. 46, pp. 41-62, 1937.)

POSSESSION OF DIVINE MANA

643 The *ariki-mau* or king of Easter Island was a divine chief who had mana
773 (supernatural power) and was therefore surrounded by tapus; as a member
778 of the Honga lineage of the Miru tribe he was descended from the gods Tangaroa and Rongo. (See genealogy, p. 127.) The following legend shows how a king with an oversupply of mana might bring calamity to his people:

> The king Nga-ara slept with three wives, all of whom became pregnant and gave birth to sons. The first two sons had no mana but the third son, Rokoroko-te-tau, mysteriously possessed it. The people brought flower wreaths and standards for Rokoroko-he-tau whom they considered king. Sharks and seals came to the island and chased and ate the people, and white fowls appeared. These three things, together with a white feather diadem, manifested the power of Rokoroko-he-tau. Nga-ara was afraid that the sharks and seals would kill all the people, so he stole Rokoroko-he-tau during the night and hid him near the Rano-aroi and later killed him. The sharks, seals, and white fowls disappeared, never to return.

This brief legend emphasizes the extreme importance of mana; in spite of the tradition that succession to title went to the eldest son, the first two sons of Nga-ara were disregarded because they had no mana, and the third son, who possessed it, was considered king. Throughout Polynesia the birth
[787] of the divine chief was often associated with many portents and wonders, but in this tale the phenomena which accompanied the king's birth were emanations from his mana and were the cause of his destruction.

Another legend, strange and incomprehensible in its present form, deals with the mana of the king and of his miraculous birth. Although there is no way of knowing whether this tale refers to a legendary king with great mana or to the son of the god Tangaroa, it contributes to a better understanding of the various aspects of a king's personality.

> Tangaroa and his brother went to the beach at Hangavee one night. After catching some fish they went on to Huareva and to Akahanga. At Anavaero Tangaroa copulated with a hen which he saw sitting on a stone. The two brothers continued to Hanga-nui, where they fished, and to Vaimangaro where they bathed in the sea. There Tangaroa killed the hen, plucked it, and put it in a basin. Both returned to Tuu-tapu. An old woman from Hanga-nui went to the well at Vaimangaro. There she heard a child crying from inside the stomach of the hen in the basin. She took the child to her home, cared

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for him, and named him Tu-ki-haka-he-vari (Curled-up-as-a-chicken-in-an-egg). He grew up and stayed with her at Hakarava. One day he asked the old woman, "Where is my father?" She replied, "There, where there is a dark cloud." Then the boy called to the people, "Make a litter to carry me to Tuu." This the people did and they accompanied him to Pare where he remained. Some died on the way, others died after they had returned to their homes, because of the mana of Tu-ki-haka-he-vari.

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Here, as in the preceding tale, the king's mana is so strong that it becomes deadly to those who carry him. Moreover, the king is carried on a litter, probably to prevent any contact between the ground and the mana embodied in him. This is the only hint of such a custom on Easter Island, but the attitude fits the Polynesian pattern of culture.

TAPUS

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The sacredness of the *ariki-mau* obliged both him and the people of lesser rank to subject themselves to a series of restrictions in their mutual relations. No one could touch any part of the king's body without running the risk of falling dead or of suffering severe pain. There is no doubt that the head of the king was the most sacred part of his person—so sacred that he was obliged to let his "hair grow without ever allowing the *mataa* (obsidian knife) to pass through it" (190, p. 360). The head of every man was more or less tapu (p. 103), but probably only the king's head was so sacred that the hair on it could not be cut. When the missionaries wanted to cut the hair of the little Gregorio, the last king of the island, "the child opposed it firmly and yielded only through force or fear." The anger was so general that "the hairdresser was on the point of being stoned when he achieved his work" (190, p. 360).

The hands of the king were also tapu. The only activities permitted to him were making fishing lines and nets and fishing in canoes. The extremely contagious nature of his mana extended to all his belongings which were consequently tapu. "Their huts, their enclosure, their food, their entire persons and everything they used were tapu for other persons of both sexes" (190, p. 360).

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It was not permissible to see the king or his son eat or sleep, and none but his servants who were noblemen (*ariki*) were allowed to enter his house. There were two classes of servants, the *tuura* and the *haka-paapa*. The first provided for the maintenance of the king, tilling the soil, gathering seashells, and fishing for him; and the latter attended the king in the capacity of valets and served his meals. A fragment of legend mentions only one *tuura* and one *hakapaapa*, but the informant who dictated the legend told me on another occasion that there were several of each class of servants, though he was not sure of the number. I am unable to tell what truth there is in Palmer's statement (168, p. 282) that next to the king there was a "prime minister, who was obliged to be a celibate."

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Several foods were tapu to the king. He could never eat rats and it is

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226 789 forms. Near ahu Mahatua is a stone covered with engraved vulvas (*komari*), called Pu-o-Hiro (Trumpet-of-Hiro) because of a natural hole which can be blown through like a trumpet. Legend says that it stood formerly in Hanga-roa and was brought to its present place by a raiding party of Tupa-hotu warriors. The shaking of this stone brought shoals of fish to the shore.

ANGLING

FISHHOOKS

227 Modern natives catch most of their fish by hook. Angling (*hi ite ika*) must always have been important, judging from the abundance of fishhooks which may still be discovered in the caves by the shore. The ancient fishhooks were of stone or bone, the latter being either simple or complex.

Legend says that the natives of ancient times used the thorns of the *ngaoho* (*Caesalpinia bonduc*) for making hooks, but the thorns are too small to have been put to any practical purpose. Composite wooden hooks were made for trade by some natives who asserted that they were authentic reproductions of old specimens.

One-piece Hooks

227 324 [773] **Stone Hooks.** Stone hooks were always of the one-piece type, although the stone point of a fishhook (fig. 11, *a*) in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum collection seems to indicate that at least one element of composite fishhooks might have been of stone. According to an ancient myth, long ago the natives had only stone hooks, but the fish would never bite (*pakoo*) at them. Hook fishing proved successful only after the fishermen learned from Ure-a-vai-a-nuhe how to make fishhooks from the bones of the dead. (See p. 363). Had stone fishhooks been the valueless implements the myth indicates, the ancient fishermen would not have put so much work and time into their manufacture. The numerous unfinished stone fishhooks and fragments of finished specimens found on the island deny that they were exceptional and intended only for ceremonial purposes. The myth mentions the *kahi* (tuna) as the fish that could not be captured with stone hooks, but we may infer from the name of the stone hook, *mangai kahi* (215, p. 537), that it was made especially for catching the tuna. Either the name of the *kahi* has been introduced in the myth instead of that of some other fish that required a smaller bone hook, or the legend has arisen after the use of stone fishhooks was abandoned.

At the time of Palmer's visit in 1868, Easter Islanders no longer employed stone fishhooks, and perhaps had given up the use of bone hooks too, after becoming familiar with iron fishhooks. Palmer (171, p. 173) says: "They did not offer any fishing lines for sale, and the only hooks we saw

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301 171 The wooden crescents or *rei-miro* are without any parallel in Polynesia. Large breast ornaments of quite different material and shape were worn in Tahiti and in the Marquesas (142, pl. 78). Perhaps the *rei-miro* are genetically related to the pearl-shell breast pendants widely spread in Polynesia. The superficial resemblance to the big, crescentic shells of the Solomon Islanders does not imply a connection between Easter Island and Melanesia.

The wooden balls (*tahonga*) are paraphernalia peculiar to Easter Island. The value given to wood on this barren island has favored the invention and development of a great many wooden ornaments unknown in other regions of Polynesia.

Body Painting

302 386 412 [172] Until very recent times men and women smeared their faces and bodies with red, yellow, white, and dark dyes. The red dye (*kiea*) is a red-brown, weathered and mineralized tuff which is found in several places on the island, especially on the western slope of Poike Peninsula. *Kiea* was pulverized in a small stone mortar. Whole specimens or fragments of these mortars have been picked up in ancient settlements, with traces of red ochre in the hollow.

412 The bowl is made of an oval, waterworn stone which has been slightly abraded, but the general form is more or less conical. The cavity is shallow in proportion to the volume of the bowl. In the large bowls the hollow has been carefully ground while the outside is either slightly ground, pecked, or rough. The rim has also been carefully ground and made even. To judge from the fragments, some of these mortars were of beautiful workmanship; the interior is not only smooth and regular, but the bowls are almost perfect hemispheres. In the Bishop Museum collection, besides one whole stone bowl, there are fragments of nine others, of which one is almost entire (B3501, 5960). The largest fragment in the collection is 165 mm. long and the smallest 88 mm.

386 Another earth, probably unoxidized tuff, gives a chalk-white color (*mari-kuru*). To extract this earth the natives dug holes or pits. One of these mines was seen by the Spaniards under Gonzalez (90, p. 122) near Vinapu where there was a cave "with furrows in it of various tints, from which the natives gave us to understand by signs they obtained the pigments with which they paint themselves." Geiseler (87, p. 15) mentions a deep hole on the west slope of Rano-kao, out of which the natives dug a yellow pigment. Charred ti leaves mixed with sugar-cane juice produced a beautiful black dye (*ngarahu*). Yellow or orange dye was obtained from turmeric.

[173] Though *pua* is the Easter Island name for *Curcuma longa*, the general Polynesian term *renga* has been preserved in the name of the two birds Manu-keukeu-renga who taught the natives how to prepare dye from turmeric root. *Renga* means also "something nice." According to the legend of the origin of the *renga* it was prepared in a special long house and the smell of the turmeric is still celebrated in legends (p. 369). Turmeric was uprooted (*keri*) with a pointed stick, then carefully washed (*tata maitaki*) and grated (*oro*) on a rasp (*tama*) made of fine *toro-miro* or *hau* sticks. The natives compared this rasp to a grill or a mat. The grated turmeric fell into a stone basin (*taheta*),

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532 778 Routledge (194, p. 270) concludes that "on the whole the female figures and those with ribs seem to have been considered to be supernatural beings; they are generally called *akuaku*, and sometimes *atua*, while the others represent men."

Edge-Partington (68, p. 180) writes that the images were kept in the huts "either in niches (?) or suspended from the ridge pole, and were carefully wrapped up in nature cloth or tapa."

532 769 778 The wooden images showing protruding bones were intended to represent the spirits of dead people. This conception, which was very ably suggested by Desmedt (59, pp. 134-135) is borne out by traditions and by the statements of natives who still conceive the spirits of the dead as identical with the wooden images.

532 773 778 539 The legend accounting for the origin of the first images has been recorded several times (194, pp. 269-270; 222, pp. 61-64; 27, pp. 137-138). Most of the natives know the story, and their version may be useful for a true understanding of the nature of wooden images:

He manau Tuu-ko-ihu mo (o)ho ki Hare-koka i Hanga Hahave. He noho Tuu-ko-ihu, he moe i Ahu-te-peu. He otea i te po a, he ea, he oho ki Vaitakatiki, ki Puku-takaure, ki Ahu-ava-a-atea, ki te Henua-kava. He iri, he oho, he tuu ki Punapau. I ka tuu atu ki mua ki te hitirau, ko te varua e momoe roa i te aro o te hitirau. He kavakava no, he ivi no, ina he hakari. Te ingoa nga varua era ko Hitirau ko Nuku-te-mango. He oho Tuu-ko-ihu. He rangi mai etahi varua ko Hauriuri te ingoa: "Ka ara korua, ku tikea ana te korua kavakava e te ariki." He veve veveri, he ara, he ui atu ko te tangata. He oho ro ana, he ea ki runga, he oho ararua, he pu mai amua, he ui ki te ariki: "Pehe taau mea maa." He ki te ariki: "Ina." He ki hakahou: "Atikea te mee aau i ui." He ki te ariki: "Ina." He ngaro hakahou tau nga varua era.

He oho Tuu-ko-ihu. He piri hakahou ki a Tuu-ko-ihu i Mataengo. He ui hakahou: "Pehe taau mee maa, e te ariki e." He ki Tuu-ko-ihu, "Ina." He oho hakahou Tuu-ko-ihu he piri hakahou i Puku-rautea. He ui hakahou ki a Tuu-ko-ihu: "Pe he taau mee maa e te ariki e." "Ina." Ana i haaki Tuu-ko-ihu ku tingai ana o te ui i to raua kavakava oira ana tingai. He ngaro hakahou.

Tuu-ko-ihu decided to go to the house called Hare-koka (House-of-the-cockroaches) at Hanga Hahave. Tuu-ko-ihu was living then in Ahu-te-peu. Early in the morning he left and went to Vaitakatiki, to Puku-takaure, to the Ahu-ava-a-atea, to Henua-kava. He went up and climbed to Punapau. He happened to see in front of the red stone two spirits who were sleeping near the (cliff) of red stone. They were just ribs and they had no bodies. The names of these spirits were: Hitirau and Nuku-te-mango. Tuu-ko-ihu went on. Another spirit, named Hauriuri, cried: "Awake, the king saw your ribs." They woke with a start and saw this man. They went, (they) climbed and crossed the way in front of Tuu-ko-ihu. They asked: "What do you know?" "Nothing", answered the king. They said again: "Perhaps you noticed something." "No", said the king. The two spirits disappeared again.

Tuu-ko-ihu went on. (But) the spirits met him again at Mataengo. They asked again: "What do you know about us, O King?" Tuu-ko-ihu answered, "Nothing." Tuu-ko-ihu went on and he met them again at Puku-rautea. They asked Tuu-ko-ihu again: "What do you know about us, O King?" "Nothing." If Tuu-ko-ihu had told them he had seen their ribs, they would have killed him. They disappeared again.

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He turu, he oho Tuu-ko-ihu he tuu ki Hare-koka. I ka tuu atu Tuu-ko-ihu ki Hare-koka ko te tangata, e uru ana i te umu, te umu ava, he hoahoa i te tutuma o te toro-miro. He oho atu Tuu-ko-ihu, he too mai te tutuma, he mau ki roto ki te hare. He tarai i te moai e rua etoru raa. He oti te moai rae, he too mai i te rua tutuma, he tarai hakaou. He oti te rua moai ko Hitirau, ko Nuku-te-mango.

He moe mata hakahou Tuu-ko-ihu i te po, e hauru no a Tuu-ko-ihu, he ui atu te mata o te varua o Tuu-ko-ihu ki te nga vie erua ko Paapa-ahiro, ko Paapa-akirangi. He ui atu te mata o te kuhane o Tuu-ko-ihu. He kokomo ro ana i te rima. He veveri te kuhane o Tuu-ko-ihu. He ara, he otea, he too mai, he tarai hakahou erua hoki moai paapaa. He oti te tarai ararua moai, he too mai ahaha moai. He amo, he oho ki Ahu-te-peu, he tuu ki Ahu-te-peu ki roto ki te hare. He hakarere, he hakamaromaro a i roto i te hare. He noho.

He tanu mai te moai o te tangata ki a Tuu-ko-ihu mo anga tangata. I puhi i te umu i tau, i te moa, i tao i te ika, i te uhi, i te kumara, he mau mai ki a Tuu-ko-ihu o te anga i te moai. He noho Tuu-ko-ihu, he tarai, he oti te moai nei. He oti te moai nei, te raa ananake anga era Tuu-ko-ihu i te moai. O kope era o kope era e ku tata mai a te moai hoou he tarai hakahou. He moai umu ana ka vaai ki te hoa moai. He moai umu kore ana ka hakarere i ai ananake te moai e anga era.

He tuu ki toona raa, he oho mai te tangata ananake moai tae vaai. He ki ki te ariki ki a Tuu-ko-ihu: "E te ariki e, e Tuu-ko-ihu e, e ka vaai mai koe i tamatou moai." "Ka noho mai." He too mai Tuu-ko-ihu, he hakahaere i te moai i roto i te Hare-hakahaere-moai. He nape iho te ingoa o te hare ko te Hare-hakahaere-moai. He haere te moai kavarikavari i roto i te hare. He ui te mata o te hoa moai e haere mai era. He ki te tangata: "Kareka te moai ku haere ana iroto i te hare." Ai ka ui no te mata ai ka maharo no: "Kareka te moai e haere mai era." He tuu ki te ahiahi, he hohoki te tangata ki toraua hare ina kai vaai Tuu-ko-ihu i te moai i hohoki ro ai.

Tuu-ko-ihu went down and arrived at Hare-koka. When he arrived there the people were taking the stones from the oven. They were throwing away firebrands. Tuu-ko-ihu took two firebrands and carried them into the house. He carved first one image, then another from the firebrands. He finished two images [representing] Hitirau and Nuku-te-mango. 532 539 773 778

Tuu-ko-ihu fell asleep and dreamed of two women: Paapa-ahiro and Paapa-akirangi. His soul in the dream had seen they were hiding their sex with their hands. Tuu-ko-ihu awoke with a start; he got up and when it was day he took wood and carved two flat images. He loaded them on his back and went back to Ahu-te-peu. He left the images standing in the house where he lived.

The people went to Tuu-ko-ihu with images to be carved. They lit their oven and cooked in it leaves, fowls, fish, yams, and sweet potatoes; and they brought this food to Tuu-ko-ihu, so that he would carve images. Tuu-ko-ihu carved and finished various images. He was working all day long. People and more people came with new figures to be carved. They [got] the images when they offered an earth oven to the owner of the images. But if there was no earth oven for the images, he [Tuu-ko-ihu] kept all the images he had made.

One day all the men whose images were not returned went to Tuu-ko-ihu and said: "O king, o Tuu-ko-ihu, give us our images back." "You wait." Tuu-ko-ihu made the images walk in his house and thereafter the house was called "The-house-of-the-walking-images." The images walked and made turns and turns. The owners of the images saw their images move and said: "How amusing are these images moving in the house." When they saw that, they were full of admiration. "How funny are these moving images." In the evening these people went to their houses, but Tuu-ko-ihu did not give [back] their images when they returned.

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532 Routledge's version of this legend (194, p. 270) presents a single variant.
539 The two spirits, in order to be sure that Tuu-ko-ihu has not seen their ribs
● 773 after dark "prowled around the house, listening with their hands up to their
778 ears, to hear if he gossiped about what he had seen, intending if he did so to kill him. The ariki, however, held his tongue." In the version published by Vives Solar (222, p. 62) the two spirits are awakened by a spirit called Akere-kere, who tells them that their ribs have been seen by Tuu-ko-ihu. Discarding the magical element of the tale, Vives Solar (222, p. 64) has Tuu-ko-ihu move the images by cords. On this misunderstanding, Knoche (126, p. 98) and later Brown (27, pp. 132-145) built their theory of the Easter Island marionettes and the parallels with Indonesia.

There is another tale about Tuu-ko-ihu and the images:

> There was a young man living in Riu-o-hatu. He planned to make a feast (*koro*) for his father. For that purpose, he raised chickens and had a house built. All his people worked on it. When the *koro* house was finished, he left his people and went to Ahu-te-peu to call on Tuu-ko-ihu and ask him for a statue. He arrived at Tuu-ko-ihu's place and asked: "Give me a statue, o king, in loan for the feast in honor of my father." The ariki said: "It is all right." Tuu-ko-ihu gave him an image. The young man took it and returned to his *koro*. He broke sugar-cane stalks, dug out yams and sweet potatoes and put bananas in a ditch. He lit the oven and put in it fowls, yams, and sweet potatoes. Some people sang *riu* chants, others, *ei* chants and others *a te atua*. They took all the foods—bananas, sugar cane, fowls—to the *koro* house. They set up the image at the door of the *koro* house, and the people went to admire this image. They spent three days in the *koro* house. This *koro* house was nice, and the people ate plenty of sugar cane and bananas.
>
> When the *koro* was finished, the young man stayed there. The third day, the *koro* caught fire. Men, women, and children shouted: "The *koro* is burning, the *koro* is burning." This cry sounded at Hanga-roa, at Motu-tautara, at Ahu-te-peu. Tuu-ko-ihu heard it and said: "O my brother 'The jumping-little-bird' (*piu-hekerere*) jump!" A servant of Tuu-ko-ihu was sent to Riu-o-hatu. When the young man saw him, he said: "Your image is burnt up." The servant said: "No, it did not burn." He looked for it and found it lying far away. The servant called the owner of the *koro* and said: "Here is your image." He returned it to Tuu-ko-ihu.

532 The connection of the images with the spirits of the dead is made evident
778 in the first myth. The second shows that these images were exhibited during feasts and that perhaps their presence was indispensable. Numerous details about their handling, such as their ceremonial unwrapping, would be incomprehensible unless we suppose that these images were really gods or representations of deified ancestors. The handling of the images and the chants addressed to them correspond to the various methods of coddling and flattering the gods used in the Tuamotus and Tahiti.

In the course of time the artistic element may have become predominant; thus many of the images may have been carved and carried merely as ornaments or precious property, displayed during a feast.

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532 images have the same ornamentation. The statue Hoa-haka-nana-ia in the British Museum also has the rings and the girdle and a vertical band continuing the down stroke of the M toward the base. The girdle with its band stretching down from the back is a conventionalized representation of the *maro*. (See p. 217.)

There is good reason to believe that the backs of the statues were carved after they were set up. First, it would have been difficult to complete this portion of the work while the statue was in its original place in the quarry. Second, the transportation would have been more difficult and the chances of injury greater if the backs of statues had been finished. Geiseler (87, p. 12) heard from the natives that "only after the erection of the image, the back was wrought out, so that the spine was well marked." A dimly remembered tradition collected by Routledge (194, p. 188) states that "the statues were set up to be finished."

Most of the images have suffered little from weathering despite the soft breakable tuff. Some had been slightly impaired by petroglyphs carved on their surfaces. These designs, strewn without any apparent order, are extremely crude and were probably made not by the original artists but by later visitors to the quarry. Among these rock carvings the most frequent motifs are crescentic depressions which may represent boats. On some statues there are carvings of a big-eyed figure.

532 All the images of the crater had names, though only a few are remembered by modern natives. A great many were recorded by Geiseler (87, pp. 7-10).
552 The few names which were given to Routledge (194, p. 183) were defined as the names of the individual carvers "and some proof is afforded of the reality of the tradition by the fact that the clans of the persons named are consistently given." But many of these names derive from some peculiarity of the image or of the place where it is located. Piropiro (the Stinking), with his upturned nose, seems to be offended by some bad odor, and names like "Dropping-water", "Wry-neck", and Taotao Poki (the Tattooed Man) are purely descriptive. Some images in the interior of the crater have been named after the birds which used to haunt this side of the cliff: "the Kiakia sitting"; "the Kiakia flying" (194, p. 184). One image was called "The Night" (Po).

532 On the outer slope of Rano-raraku there is a statue called Tai-hare-atua
773 which differs from all the others in that it is clumsily wrought. It has no neck and the ears and arms are fused together. According to tradition, it was the first image carved in the quarry. The natives have a legend about it which was inaccurately recorded by Routledge (194, p. 184). My version follows:

The image carver lived in Hotu-itl where he made the first image called Tai-hare-atua. When the statue was finished, he did not find it pretty at all because it had no neck. He said to two men, "You go to Apina-nui and ask how they carve the neck of the images. When they tell it to you, come back."

The two went to Apina-nui. They saluted a man, and the man returned their greetings. The young men entered his house and they stayed there. The owner of the house

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lit the oven and put in it chicken and sweet potatoes. In the evening he opened his oven and invited the young men to eat. The owner sat at one side of the house and the young men at the other. They slept. One of the young men said, "This man does not ask questions." Next day the young men prepared to go. The owner of the house asked, "Where are you going?" "We came to see you in order to learn how to make the neck of the images." He answered, "Just go on, the neck of the images is with you." The young men turned back and arrived at ahu Ohau-para. They felt the need to urinate. The younger one went aside and urinated. He looked at his penis and said to the other, "Listen, it was true, the neck of the image is with us, here below." They returned and told the image carver the story. They set out to make other images. This time they made them well. From then on they always carved good statues.

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Isolated Statues

Besides the rows of standing statues near Rano-raraku, there are on the island many images which are independent of any ahu. Tradition has it that these isolated statues were in process of being moved and were abandoned for some reason, perhaps when the work in the quarry ceased. The natives, who explain that the images walked from the quarry to the ahus to which they were assigned, say that the isolated ones fell by the way. Routledge (194, pp. 193-199) believes, probably correctly, that the isolated images once stood where they lie today. She bases her hypothesis on the following facts:

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> Many of the statues lie on the ground intact, others have been so shattered that only a fall from an erect position can explain their condition. Some of them rest on the back, others on the face, a fact which refutes the theory that they were abandoned in transport, for the natives must have had a uniform method of transportation. It is evident that these statutes were imbedded in holes and that they fell because their bases were undermined. The weathering on some of the statues could have been produced only if they were in a standing position.

The officer sent by Captain Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 284) to explore the south coast saw these isolated statues, "some placed in groups on platforms of masonry, others single, fixed only in the earth, and that not deep." He observed several fallen statues, one of which was nearly "twenty seven feet long, and upward of eight feet over the breast or shoulders." According to G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 591) this image was called Mango-toto and stood "in sight of the hummocks, near which we had perceived the greatest number of pillars or statues, from the ship." There is no doubt that the reconnoitering party sent by Cook had reached the cove of Akahanga or even the little hill called Maunga Toatoa. Thus historical records confirm archaeological evidence.

Routledge (194, p. 194) believes that these isolated images formed irregular rows running parallel to wide roads. Ahu Paukura, on the south coast, is approached by an avenue of six statues, one of which is still standing (194, fig. 7). I found no trace of roads but it seems logical that the giant images were carried along some sort of open way. One of the roads surveyed by Routledge (194, p. 194) "was slightly raised over lower ground

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Transportation of Stone Statues

Modern natives are unable to explain the methods used by their ancestors for transporting the stone images. This break in the oral tradition is perhaps ancient, for soon after first European contact natives had to resort to legends to satisfy those who inquired about the subject. They told Roussel (190, p. 498) that a chief endowed with power (mana) had ordered the statues to walk. "Hearing his words, all the statues set out and picked out the places which were the most convenient to them." Palmer (171, p. 181), who probably heard this legend from Roussel, says that this great chief was Tukuiu (Tuu-ko-ihu). According to Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 128) the mythical being whose power dispersed the statues from the quarry to the ahus was the god Makemake. In a later version (37, p. 29), this achievement is attributed to the priests (*ivi-atua*) who moved the statues at the request of those who wanted them on their family ahus. The huge blocks walked for a distance and then stopped. Each day the priests repeated the charms until the images had reached the spot for which they were destined.

More technical traditions about transportation are rare. A native called Haunoko told Jaussen (115, p. 245) that round boulders were put under the images and that the natives pushed, dragged, and rolled them to the place of destination. Geiseler (87, p. 12) was shown some holes along the edge of Rano-raraku crater in which rope tenders stood while paying out rope as the statues slid down hill; they made turns around projecting blocks when the statue had to be belayed. The image was dropped into a hole which had been dug for it.

Routledge (194, p. 189) noticed many stones behind the statues, evidently used when the images were erected. Some statues were left standing at an angle. The natives remember that the hats were put on the heads of statues by erecting piles of stones against an image and then rolling the cylinders over the stones. A similar method was used in placing large stones in Marquesan structures (141, p. 8). I was told that levers (*akaue*) were used for transport and that taro and sweet potatoes were put under the statue for lubrication.

The weight of the Easter Island images has usually been over-estimated. Professor Delacroix, Director of the Laboratory of Geology in Paris, has kindly calculated for me the specific weight of the Rano-raraku tuff. The density of this rock is 2.48. Taking this figure as a basis, Dr. C. K. Wentworth, Associate in Geology at Bishop Museum, has estimated the weight of the average statue transported from the quarry to the ahu. Statues 4 or 5 meters tall weigh at most about 4 or 5 tons. I doubt whether the weight of any of the giant statues which stand near the quarry exceeds 30 tons.

Other Polynesians have carried weights as heavy as the Easter Island

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definite reference to Tangaroa, Tu, Hiro, Rongo, or Tane—the most prominent characters of mythology throughout Polynesia. However, these gods were not entirely unknown; they seem to have had a purely academic existence and, as in Mangareva (28, p. 418), they were recorded only as legendary figures or as divine ancestors heading genealogies. The only definite evidence that Rongo and Tangaroa were known is their mention at the beginning of the genealogy of the king's family.

HIRO

The name of Hiro appears in a very old invocation for rain (p. 330). A stone near ahu Mahatua on the northeast coast is named Pu-o-Hiro (the Trumpet-of-Hiro). It is pierced by a natural hole and it is said that when the northwest wind blows, a sound like that of a trumpet is produced. The stone is covered with carved representations of the vulva (*komari*). An ahu on the south coast is called Tangaroa-Hiro. Hiro in the Society Islands is the protector of thieves. The Easter Islanders had a god invoked by those who had committed a larceny in order not to be caught. Presumably this unknown patron of thieves was Hiro.

TANGAROA

The kings of Easter Island, like those of Mangareva and other Polynesian islands, traced their origin back to Tangaroa. The exalted position of Tangaroa at the head of the genealogy of kings might be interpreted as a sign that he was one of the gods. As in Samoa and the Society Islands a month name of the local calendar (November) is called after the god (Tangaroa-uri). On Easter Island there is still a myth about a King Tangaroa who came to the island and manifested his supernatural powers in many ways. Although modern natives maintain that this Tangaroa was merely a human invested with mana, there is little doubt that he was originally a god. One informant told me that his name was Tangaroa-mea, the name of one of the great gods of Mangareva. As my informants had heard of the god Tangaroa of Mangareva, the analogy between the two names may be due to recent borrowings, but the tale itself was given to me as being purely local. Simon Rirorokо, the last descendant of the kings, and Tepano, who told me the tale, insisted that King Tangaroa came from Mangareva.

The king, Tangaroa-mea said: "I shall enter the water like a seal and go to a country where I shall be king." The king, his brother, said: "You will die, it is a distant country, you cannot go quickly. I can go there and return the same day."

They quarreled. Victory was Tangaroa's and he went to Easter Island. His mana was over the sea, in which he was like a seal. The mana of his brother was over the land.

He landed at Tonga-riki, and he was seen by the people. The clamor resounded: "People of the land, a seal has landed at Tonga-riki." People said: "He has seal's feet,

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seal's hands, but a man's face." They wanted to kill him. The king, Tangaroa, said: "I am the king, Tangaroa, I am not a seal." The people said: "No, he is a seal with a voice."

They assaulted him with stones. They shouted: "Haul him to the shore." They carried him to Pito-kura. They dug out an oven, put Tangaroa inside, and closed it with stones. Later they opened the oven, but the meat was still raw. They covered the oven again and they stayed there waiting. They opened the oven again, and the meat was not cooked.

The people said: "It was true, he was really a king, he was Tangaroa and not a seal. Therefore he is half raw."

The brother of Tangaroa, Teko-of-the-long-feet, saw that his brother did not come back in one month. This king of a foreign country cried for his brother. He went to search for him. He landed on the islet. He put his foot at Retu (near Vai-tea). He was looking for his brother. He lifted his foot and stepped on Poike, but he did not see his brother. "Where is Tangaroa, the king?" he asked at Rano-kao, again at Retu, and at Pui. The men of the land were afraid. He lifted his foot again at Puku-puhipuhi, the place Where-Teko-planted-his-digging-stick. He again lifted his foot beyond Poike. He asked again, "Where is Tangaroa, the king?" He asked for the last time for the king, Tangaroa. He turned back, he disappeared to the foreign country. His feet trampled on the earth, but his head reached the sky. He was always asking about Tangaroa, the king.

It is highly significant that in this myth Tangaroa appears in the form of a seal. In the Tuamotus, Society Islands, and Samoa sea animals are the favorite incarnations (*ata*) of this god, for throughout Polynesia, Tangaroa was a sea god. The character of the deity is evidenced by the passage of the myth telling of Tangaroa's mana (power) over the sea and his brother's over the land.

RONGO

Rongo is mentioned in the kings' genealogy after Tangaroa and is given as the son of Tangaroa. There is no evidence that the site of Orongo was named after Rongo.

MAKEMAKE

The greatest god of the Easter Islanders was Makemake. He is the only one whose memory has been preserved until the present day. The first allusion to Makemake is found in the early account of Gonzalez expedition (90, p. 100):

> I observed that on the day on which we erected the crosses, when our chaplains went accompanying the litanies, numbers of natives stepped forward onto the path and offered their cloaks, while the women presented hens and pullets, and all cried *Maca Maca*, treating them with much veneration until they had passed beyond the rocks by which the track they were following was encumbered.

This passage proves that in the middle of the eighteenth century Makemake was so important in religion that the natives were convinced that the god of the foreigners could be none other than Makemake. The offering of clothes and chickens indicates that such gifts were regularly presented to

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Makemake. Later missionaries confirm the statements of the Spaniards. The information given by Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, pp. 117-131) is especially valuable:

> Among the gods and goddesses of their mythology, our Indians acknowledge one they call the Great God, Etua, who they say is superior to all the others. Ko Makemake was his name. He rewarded the good and punished the bad. Our islanders apparently do not suspect the existence of an evil spirit and no proper name in their language expressed such a concept. In order to designate the devil, we were obliged to add to their vocabulary the word *tiaporo* (devil).
>
> However Makemake gave orders to the men through priests, male and female. These imposters, very able ventriloquists, pretended that the great god spoke through their mouths and asked sacrifices of chickens, sweet potatoes, fish, etc. Of course everything was to the advantage of the representatives of the so-called divinity.
>
> What was more horrible was to see sometimes small children disappear: Makemake had required victims, the priests said. But as a matter of fact they had themselves killed, roasted, and eaten the sacrifice. "How happy we are," some poor mothers told us. "We are no longer afraid that our children will be taken away as formerly."
>
> Makemake manifested his anger by thunder. We were told when we came of a bad man who had been killed by lightning.
>
> The great god had no wife. As for the others I counted ten of them who lived with families as our Kanakas told us.
>
> I did not observe that our Oceanians attributed vices to the supreme god. As to the atrocities committed in his name they either did not appear as such, because of the superstitions maintained by the priests, or they were attributed to the priests whom they blamed for not being the true interpreters of the god's will.
>
> Through the will and work of the supreme god, the first man and the first woman came from the earth more or less as the plant that springs up from the soil. They had immortal souls as had all their descendants. (See also Palmer, 171, p. 774.)

Geiseler (87, pp. 31, 33) gives the following details about Makemake:

> Their religion is poor. Their principal gods are Makemake, the creator, and Haua. To these deities they offered the first products of the soil.
>
> Makemake is represented by the eggs of the birds of the island of Motu-nui on the southwest side of the Rano-kao crater and they are fetched in July, August, and September. During all the other months they are tapu. Makemake is worshipped in the form of sea birds carved in the rock or painted.
>
> Makemake is the most feared god. He kills and eats the souls of the dead when they have been bad when alive. He protects the souls of the good which under his protection after death sleep on the island . . .
>
> The principal god Makemake is not directly worshipped, but receives honors through a series of wooden images which are carried around at the feasts in honor of the god.
>
> They [the natives] do not seem to have legends or ideas about the creation of the world, the origin of the natural phenomena. Makemake made everything—the earth, the sun, the moon, and the stars. They do not know apparently any more.

The myth transcribed below explains the origin of Makemake who was born from a skull:

> There was a priestess watching over a skull on a rock in the bay of Tonga-riki, in front of the ahu Tonga-riki. The spirit Puna of the ahu was always looking at the priestess. One day a wave car and took the skull that was watched on the rock in front of the bay of Tonga-riki. The wave swept away the skull from above; it floated. The eyes of the priestess saw the skull. She leaped to take it, she swam behind the skull which floated ahead. She arrived in the middle of the sea, she was tired, she landed

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on the island of Matiro-hiva. Haua saw this woman who was a priestess. He asked: "Where do you come from?" "I am pursuing my skull." Haua said: "It is not a skull, but the god Makemake." 776 773 539

The priestess stayed. Haua fished a *mahore* fish for her to eat. They stayed all their days. One day Makemake said to Haua: "What would you say to our driving the birds to the country I have come from? For that purpose I came here. Let us go." Haua said to Makemake: "It is good, tell the old woman priestess so that we may all three go together so she will pronounce our names and say to the people that when they take the cooked food into the house they must pronounce our names: 'Take for Haua, for Makemake.' Say that to the old woman so she will warn the people of the interior above the earth." Makemake told this woman to teach what she had heard Haua say to Makemake.

Makemake went back and said to Haua: "Let us go drive the birds to the country." Haua said: "Let us go." They both went and they drove the birds. The old woman was with them. The birds went and landed. Makemake looked for a nice place. They left the birds at a place called Kauhanga. They stayed three years. The birds were eaten by men, women, and children. Makemake came back with Haua. They chased the birds again and left them at Vaiatare. They waited again for three years. They saw that men ate the eggs. They again drove the birds to the island of Motu-nui. The birds remained in the place where no men were, therefore all was good for them.

The tale turns back to the old woman. She stayed in a house at a place called Valmaho. She taught the people when they took the food out of the oven and when they brought the basket with sweet potatoes into the house that they must say: "Take for Haua, take for Makemake." For sugar cane, fish, eels, tuna fish, and all the foods, they pronounced the names of Haua and Makemake.

The tale goes back to the birds of the island. The men went to the island and saw many birds and eggs of the *manu-tara* (sooty tern). They turned back and landed ashore, they talked to the men, the women, the children. All the tribe went up and built houses at Orongo. They stayed there and celebrated the feast of the house, the feast of the finished house; they pronounced the names of Haua and Makemake. Time passed. The season for the sooty tern eggs arrived. The men went up to Orongo and stayed there. The servants went to the island, the masters remained at Mataveri. The *manu-tara* laid their eggs. The servant found the first egg of the bird, he took it, he went keeping his hand on the first egg, returning from the island. Therefore another feast of the egg was made after the first one when the birds were driven by Haua and Makemake.

This legend reveals three important beliefs concerning Makemake, first of which is his origin from a skull or his incarnation into a skull. The order of incarnation will always be obscure because the legend is incomplete. The association of the god with a skull suggests the possibility that he is the supernatural being represented so frequently in rock carvings, which depict a human face with huge eye sockets. The large orbits may be a conventional pattern such as that used in the Marquesas for figuring a human head, but it is equally possible that the Easter Island artists wished to represent a skull. The connection that I am trying to establish is purely hypothetical, but it is supported by many bits of evidence. The images of the bird-man at Orongo, which even in early days were interpreted by the natives as symbolic of Makemake, are closely associated with the big-eyed head. 776 773

The second piece of important information embodied in the legend is the linking of Makemake and Haua. No mention has ever been made of Haua

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except in connection with Makemake. The formula which accompanies an offering to Makemake always includes Haua who appears in the myth as the god's companion.

The third revelation of the myth is the connection between Makemake and the birds of the bird cult of Orongo. The numerous accounts of this cult do not designate which god was honored by all the ceremonies. The legend of Makemake suggests that the man who discovered the first *manu-tara* egg was perhaps an incarnation of Makemake. The rock carvings at the end of the village of Orongo show the man with a bird's head holding an egg in his hand. The islanders called these figures Makemake. The form of the beak on most of the image heads shows clearly that they did not represent the features of the tern (*manu-tara*) whose first eggs were so eagerly sought in the annual race at Orongo. The beak most often recalls that of the frigate (man-of-war) bird. If the rock carvings were representations of the bird-men it is to be supposed that the artists tried to figure the *manu-tara* which had a prominent place in Easter Island mythology.

Makemake is frequently regarded as a supreme justice which may have been suggested by Christian influence or by some mythical connection of the god with the hereafter or mansion of the souls. Thomson (215, p. 482) regards Makemake as "the great spirit of the sea." The fragments of tradition which were obtained by the missionaries allude to Makemake as creator of mankind, whom he made out of earth. I collected the following legend which confirms these statements:

> Makemake looked for a calabash filled with water. He masturbated in the water of the calabash. Red flesh sprouted out. It was no good. He tried again with a stone, he masturbated with a stone. It was no good. He tried with earth. He molded and masturbated with it. There was a bad odor. Then were born Tive, Raraí, Hova, and the old woman, Arangi-kote-kote.

In this fragment of myth Makemake, as creator of mankind, plays the part assumed by Tane or Tiki in the mythology of central and marginal Polynesia. The theme of the multiple copulation of Makemake is paralleled by the various matings of Tane in New Zealand and Tiki in Mangareva and the Tuamotus. In the Maori mythology Tane begat by Hine-ahu-one, his wife, the eggs of a bird from which have sprung all the birds of the air. As Makemake also produces birds, I shall consider Makemake the local Easter Island name for the old god Tane.

Makemake and Hina-kauhara, the first woman born from Tiki (p. 315) and Hina-popoia (Hina-the-heaped-up), are mentioned together in an obscure and garbled myth, which was told to me as a story concerning Makemake. Hina-kauhara or Hina, undoubtedly a woman, becomes a man who wants to be mistaken for Makemake. The short chant in the legend is per-

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haps the only genuine element of the myth. The rest of the tale seems to have been built up to explain this chant whose original significance is lost.

There was red water. Hina-kauhara looked at the woman and fell in love, he took her, they slept together, they stayed in their house. In order that the girl should not fall in love with another man he filled red water, he went to a *koro* house. He made a hole in the ground and Hina-kauhara told another young man to go up onto the roof of the *koro* house and to pour red water while Hina-kauhara sang below in the *koro* house. So the young man on the roof poured the water from above while Hina-kauhara chanted: "O Hina shed your red urine, O Hina shed your red urine, O Haua, O Makemake, shed your red urine, O Hina."

He went to another *koro* house, the same thing happened. When he came to the other *koro* house he made the same recommendations to his comrades: "When I weep, come you to the place and shed water as you did before, in the first *koro* house, I will make Makemake of you, I will make Haua of you so that people shall not recognize you." The other young man said: "It is all right, it is good."

TIVE AND HOVA

Roussel (190, p. 495) states: "The Rapa-nui have a great many gods, the most powerul, those who are the origination of all the others are: Hiva, Makemake, and Tive." Tive and Hiva (Hova) are mentioned in the creation myth (p. 314) as the first beings created by Makemake out of earth. The importance given in the Easter Island mythology to gods whose names are unknown in the rest of Polynesia shows that the emigrants who settled on the island substituted for some of the principal Polynesian deities lesser gods who took their rank and attributes.

RUANUKU

Ruanuku, who is a god of central Polynesia and of Mangareva, appears in Thomson's long list of kings and in the creation chant under the garbled form of Kaunuku or Kuanuku, certainly a misspelling for Ruanuku.

ATUA-METUA

Atua-metua (God-the-parent) is mentioned three times in the creation chant, but no other memory of him has been preserved. He must not be confused with the Mangarevan Atu-motua whose name means the Father-lord or the First-lord (28, p. 418).

TIKI

Although Makemake absorbed his personality, Tiki, the first man or the creator of mankind, is mentioned several times in the creation chant. As in the mythology of other islands, he mates with Hina-popoia (Hina-the-heaped-up), whom we recognize as the woman that Tiki made for himself out of a heap of sand (*ahu-one*). Later Tiki copulates with his daughter, designated here as Hina-kauhara.

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OREOOREO

776 Geiseler (87, p. 16) was told that the name of the human figure with conventionalized big eyes, painted on a slab at Orongo, was the god Oreoореo. This is the only mention of such a god in Easter Island traditions.

Lesser Gods

Most of the lesser gods are mere names to us. We do not know even the customary residences of some of them, although all the *akuaku* of high rank were supposed to haunt a particular spot on the island and maintain connections with the people living near by. They were supernatural beings who belonged to a certain district or family. A few of them were real gods, others were demons or nature spirits, and others were spirits of deified dead.

[775] All lesser gods are now grouped under the general term *akuaku*, which is applied also to the spirits of the dead when they appear as ghosts. Minor gods are still designated by a name and given residence and some of them by a personality defined in myths or tales. But any separation of minor gods from spirits and ghosts based on defined personality is artificial and may be imposing a clarity of distinction which never existed. Likewise it is difficult to distinguish between minor gods who were worshipped and legendary characters who were endowed with superhuman power but who never functioned as actual gods. *Akuaku* figures, mentioned in tales, who have no apparent connection with religion and who probably have no independent existence outside of myth, are given elsewhere (p. 318).

Akuaku were both male and female. They were often represented as human beings, who might have been mistaken for ordinary creatures had the story teller not classified them as *akuaku* or *tatane*. They married ordinary men or women, had children by them and died. They could even be killed if their adversary was strong enough or sly enough. At times their supernatural power manifested itself in the ability to fly through the air and change rapidly from one place to another.

774 776 Some *akuaku* were embodied in animals, in natural or artificial things, or in phenomena. Generally the animals were considered as supernatural beasts rather than as spirits transformed into or embodied in animals. Spirits embodied in things or phenomena bear the names of their material representation and probably were believed to have no existence independent of their apparent form. Thus, Te Emu is a "Landslide"; Mata-vara-vara "the Rain-with-heavy-drops"; Paepae-atari-vera "a House."

776 773 Men are indebted to the minor gods or demons for many important discoveries and improvements in their culture. The art of tattooing was introduced by the sons of two *akuaku*—Vie Moko (The Lizard Woman) and Vie

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Kena (The Gannet Woman). The female *akuaku*, in the form of birds, taught men to extract dye from turmeric (*Curcuma longa*). The first bone fishhooks were made by Ure, a capricious and strange character of Easter Island folklore. An *akuaku* bird (the frigate) brought a new kind of yam as a gift to a man called Rapu.

Not all *akuaku* were well disposed toward men. In remote times the island was full of mischievous and murderous demons. Thirty of them were destroyed by a man called Raraku in a temporary fit of madness. The general slaughtering by Raraku did not relieve the land from all its devils, for tales describe monsters, like the Woman-of-the-long-arm, who were constant menaces to men until they were killed. Some demons proved helpful in difficult circumstances. Hiva-karere (The-flying-foreigner), Mata-mata-vara-vara-ahu-Raai (The-rain-with-large-drops-of-the-ahu-Raai), and Paepae-a-Tari-vera (Stone-house-of-Tari-vera) saved a famous warrior (*matatoa*), whose soul (*kuhane*) was kidnapped by another spirit.

Through old Viriamo, some information has come to us about the relations between men and *akuaku*. The spirits or gods of Viriamo's district were Tare and Rapahango. Rapahango was also the family name of my informant, Victoria, who claimed for her ancestors some association with that *akuaku*. Rapahango and Tare were especially well disposed toward the Tupa-hotu and brought their friends in this tribe food they had stolen from other people. In exchange, the *akuaku* received an offering each time an *umu* (earth oven) was opened in a house they favored with their visits. Before starting the meal, the host or some important guest would say: "This is for such-and-such an *akuaku* . . . " I understood that a small portion of the meal was presented to the god or the spirit; but Routledge (194, p. 237) got the impression that "the invitation to the supernatural power was purely formal, or restricted to the essence of the food only."

The spirits had long talks with men or women who succeeded in winning their confidence. They foretold the future, announced impending dangers, and revealed secret things. I was told by Viriamo's son that in her youth Viriamo had been seen at night speaking familiarly with the two spirits, Tare and Rapahango. The voices of these spirits were always high-pitched and recognizable. When the *akuaku* were in a house, those who wanted to have an interview with them or make offerings to them had to crawl into the hut backwards.

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776 well. Actually one of us had carried it home. Tepano told me with the greatest seriousness that an *akuaku* had stolen his waistcoat with his watch and that he never found them again, although he was sure that nobody was near the place where he had left his clothes and where, he added, his cousin had died. Every man on the island will tell you that he has at some time met an *akuaku*. Of course South American superstitions have influenced the [177] natives and they see ghosts under the guise of the Christian devil, a black fellow with fiery eyes.

[825] The cats which roamed around our tents at night were considered spirits, and they were greatly feared. When their cries were heard too near or were too dismal, the terrified natives resorted to prayers and spent the night reading sacred books.

CREATION CHANT

533 A creation chant collected by Thomson in 1886 is supposed to give a list
539 of gods and goddesses who mated and produced most of the natural objects
773 known to natives. This chant was obtained from old Ure-vai-ko, who recited
776 it as the text of a tablet. Unfortunately the spelling of many native words is inaccurate and inconsistent. A translation made by Salmon is equally free, as he assumed that the procreators were all gods whose names were meaningless, and thus misunderstood the true nature of the chant. The text given here is based on Thomson's and corrected by natives, but many verses are not intelligible.

Atua-matariri ki ai ki roto ki a te Poro, ka pu te poporo.

Himahima-marao ki ai ki roto te Kihi-tupu-henua, ka pu te kihihi.

A Oevai ki ai ki roto Kava-kohe-kohe, ka pu te kohe.
Matua-anua ki ai ki roto ki a Pipiri-hai-tau, ka pu te miro.
A Ngingi-e-ai ki ai ki roto ki a Humu-toti, ka pu te mahute.

He Ti ki ai ki roto ki a he Ta, ka pu te ti.
A Tura ki ai ki roto ki a Tei, ka pu te mauku-uta.
A Hau [or Heu] ki ai ki roto Vava, ka pu te turéme.

A he Kai ki ai ki roto He Peue, ka pu te matea.
Viri-koue ki ai ki roto Aringa-rehe-uru-arero, ka pu te rona.

God-of-the-angry-look by copulating with Roundness (?) produced the *poporo* (*Solanum nigrum*).

Himahima-marao by copulating with Lichen-growing-on-the-soil produced the lichen.

Oevai (?) by copulating with Fern produced the fern.

The Parent-mother by copulating with Pipiri-hai-tau produced wood.

Dryness by copulating with Humu-toti (Tattooing-of-the-leg) produced the paper mulberry.

Ti by copulating with Ta [Tattooing] produced the ti.

Elevation (?) by copulating with Highness produced the inland-grass.

Hau tree by copulating with Vava (?) produced the *turéme* (*Dichelachne sciurea*).

Sharpness by copulating with Adz produced obsidian.

Twining by copulating with Beautiful-face-with-penetrating-tongue produced the morning-glory plant.

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Atua-Metua ki ai ki roto kia Riri-tuna-rai, ka pu te niu.
Atua-Metua ki ai ki roto ki te Vuhi-atua, ka pu te toro-miro.
Atua-Metua ki ai ki roto ki te Puhavao-atua, ka pu te moana.
A he Uru ki ai ki roto te Tumu, ka pu te marikuru.

A te Veke ki ai ki roto Pohuhutu-hutu-tere-vai-mangaro, ka pu te veke.

A Hahamea ki ai ki roto Hohio, ka pu te takaure.
A Ukia ki ai ki roto More-manga, ka pu te ngarava.

Vie Moko ki ai ki roto kia Tea, ka pu te kena.
Te Reheue ki ai ki roto Vie Raupa ka pu te raupa.
A he Roe ki ai ki roto Uuhipura [or Nuhepura], ka pu te roe.

Te Hatu ki ai ki roto kia te Api-ai-raro, ka pu te toa.
Ira-pupue ki ai ki roto Ira-kaka, ka pu te pia.
Mangeongeo ki ai ki roto he Rake-rake, ka pu te kape.
A Hue ki ai ki roto Pana, ka pu te hue.
He Hina [He ima?] ki ai ki roto kia Rui-haka-ma-rui, ka pu te raa.
Huru-au ki ai ki roto Hina-oio, ka pu te moa.
A Hikua ki ai ki roto Hina-oio, ka pu te uraura.
Tingahae ki ai ki roto Pararara-hiku-tea, ka pu te niuhi.

A Hikue ki ai ki roto Hina-oioi, ka pu te taoraha.
Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Hihohiho-ki-te-turu, ka pu te paroko.

Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Hina-popoia, ka pu te Hina-kauhara.
Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Maea, ka pu te herahera-kiko-mea.
Tiki-te-hatu ki ai ki roto Rurua-tiki-te-hatu, ka pu te Ririkatea.
E timo te raemea [amura he ki te aro] mo tunu te ika, mo hangai i te ariki.

Parent-god by copulating with Angry-eel produced the coconut. 533
Parent-god by copulating with Vuhi-the-god produced the *toro-miro* tree. 539
Parent-god by copulating with Puhavao-the-god produced green-leaves. 773 ● 776
Grove by copulating with Trunk produced the ashwood tree (*Sapindus saponaria*).
Dragon fly by copulating with Bug-that-flies-on-fresh-water produced the dragon fly.
Stinging-fly by copulating with Swarm-of-flies produced the fly.
Branch by copulating with Broken-crotch produced the beetle-living-in-rotten-wood.
Goddess Moko by copulating with Whiteness produced the gannet.
Reheue (?) by copulating with Goddess-leaf produced the leaves.
Ant by copulating with Uuhipura [or Nuhepura, Glowworm?] produced the ant.

Hard-soil by copulating with Covering-below produced the sugar cane.
Irrigation by copulating with Leaves produced the arrowroot.
Acridness by copulating with Bad-taste produced the arum.
Calabash by copulating with Pana (?) produced calabash.
Moon (?) by copulating with Darkness (?) produced Sun.
Feather by copulating with Hina-oio (?) produced the fowl.
Tail (?) by copulating with Hina-oio produced the crayfish.
Killing by copulating with Flat-one-of-the-white-tail (the sting ray) produced the shark.
Tail (?) by copulating with Hina-oioi (?) produced the whale.
Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Running-and-flowing-down [water] produced the rockfish.
Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Hina-the-heaped-up produced Hina-kauhara.
Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Stone produced burning-red-meat (?).
Tiki-the-lord by copulating with Rurua-tiki-the-lord produced (king) Ririkatea.
He taught that the brook fish . . . were to be cooked and given as food for the king.

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533 Takoua ki ai ki roto Tukouo, ka pu te poopoo.

539 E Toto te uhi no kino no naroko no nga oreno, no nga tokotoko rua papa.

773 E puoko te maika no Tupa-iti[10] no Tupa-nui[10].

776 Uku ki ai ki roto kia Rori, ka pu te ngaatu.

Kuhikia ki ai ki roto Taurari, ka pu te ngaatu.

Kuhikia ki ai ki roto Rupe-roa, ka pu te turi.

Taaria ki ai ki roto Taaria, ka pu te tau-eehu.

Hainge (?) ki ai ki roto Hatukuti, ka pu te evea.

Pauaroroko ki ai ki roto Hakukuti, ka pu te tae-rongo-veteve.

Hini-rere-rere ki ai ki roto Kanoho-tata-poro, ka pu te poporo.

Numia a Tangaire turu herohero te toto o te o kovare.

Ka mau te kovare, taratara te kovare.

Turu ki te ua manau (?) manavai roa.

Ruanuku [raituahe a ana kihorou eaa e toe tua tanu to tana moko] eaha hangai e toe e uhi, e kumara.

Takoua by copulating with Tukouo produced the poopoo-fish.

(Thomson's translation: "E Toto discovered the sweet taste of the yam and made it the principal food of the people.")

The head of the banana is for King Tupa-iti and King Tupa-nui.

Uku (?) by copulating with Undulation produced the bulrush.

Kuhikia (?) by copulating with Wetness produced the bulrush.

Kuhikia by copulating with Pigeon produced the sea-gull.

Small-thing by copulating with Small-thing produced the imperceptible-thing.

Hainge (?) by copulating with Hatukuti produced the wind (?).

Pauaroroko (?) by copulating with Hakukuti (?) produced the free-ones-who-do-not-obey.

Delaying-to-run (?) by copulating with Staying-until-tomorrow produced the poporo plant.

It runs red, the blood of the *kovare*.

Abundant the *kovare*, rough the eels.

The rain falls in long drops.

Ruanuku . . .

. . . what was left to be fed on the yams and the sweet potatoes.

539 773 776 The value of this version of the chant is impaired by uncertain spellings, arbitrary translations, and the unintelligibility of the last part of the text which seems to have no connection with the first part. All attempts to discover the original sequence and meaning of the words failed despite the assistance of the natives. Though some parts of the text remain obscure, the general character is obvious. It is a typical Polynesian procreation chant patterned after the genealogical recitals stressed in eastern Polynesian society. The scheme of the chant is simple and monotonous. It consists of the enumeration of a series of natural objects, such as plants, animals, and celestial phenomena, represented as offspring of progenitors, some of whom are gods and others personified natural objects or abstract qualities belonging to the object supposed to have been produced by their union.

The names which could not be translated may refer to deities, but probably this will never be proved. The parents who are unmistakably gods are: Atua-Matariri (God-of-the-angry-face), whose name suggests the god Tu in New Zealand; Atua-metua (God-parent); Matua-anua, a name translated by Easter Islanders as "God-mother", a doubtful interpretation as he is a male. Motua-anua bears great resemblance to Anua-motua, the

[10] Tupa-iti and Tupa-nui are certainly proper names. Salmon makes Tupa synonymous with king, "King Tupa figures in Easter Island and in Mangareva, where he is said to have introduced various plants." This linking of the names from two areas is purely hypothetical.

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name of a Mangarevan legendary character who is said to have colonized the island of Mataki-te-rangi. This transposition would not be unusual in the Polynesian language.

Tiki-te-hatu is the famous Tiki, the first man or the creator of the first man in central and marginal Polynesia. Tiki copulates with Hina-the-heaped-up and begets Hina-kauhara, who is connected in a legend with the great god Makemake (p. 314). Throughout Polynesia Hina is the first woman made of a heap of earth and generally the wife of Tiki; in the Tuamotus she is the daughter of Tiki. Rurua-tiki-te-hatu is probably a daughter of Tiki. In the Tuamotus we find also Tiki under the name of Rua-tiki, which is the equivalent of Rurua-tiki-te-hatu. The copulation of Tiki-te-hatu with stone (*moea*) is a striking allusion to the procreative act performed by Tiki with different objects (Tuamotu, Mangareva).

Te Ririkatea, probably a legendary ancestor, as his name appears in the genealogy of the kings, is said to have been a king of Marae-renga, the homeland of the Easter Islanders. Vie Moko (the Woman Lizard) is a popular character in the folklore of the island and also a spirit (*aku-aku*) associated with Vie Kena (the Woman Gannet). It is not by chance that in the chant she is the parent of Kena. But here there is a strange inconsistency; Vie, the first part of her name, expresses a female, yet in the chant she occupies the place of the male parent and probably mates with Tea (Whiteness), the gannet.

Of extreme importance is the mention of Riri-tuna-rai as the female being who, with Atua-metua, conceives the coconut (*niu*). Here is a faint suggestion of the widespread Polynesian myth of the origin of the coconut which grew from the head of an eel (*tuna*), the lover of Hina. A version of this myth is present in Mangareva, but as fresh-water eels do not exist in these islands, Tuna is considered there as Man. On Easter Island there are no fresh-water eels or coconuts, and the name *niu* is given to the fruit of the *Thespesia populnea*, but the chant has retained the traditional association of the eel with the coconut.

Vuhi-atua and Puhavao-atua, who were impregnated by Atua-metua and produced the *toro-miro* and *moana* (green leaves), and Hina-oio, who is given three times as the mother of different water animals, may be deities or legendary characters of the same order as Riri-tuna-rai. As these words could not be translated by the natives, they may be proper names.

Many parents of the natural objects are themselves natural objects, personifications, or individualized qualities of the objects supposed to be their offspring. Usually things related to each other are closely associated. Thus, Kihi-tupu-henua, the ground lichen, is the mother of Kihikihi, the ordinary lichen; the *kavu-kohekohe*, a species of fern, is the mother of the fern *kohe*; the *pohuhutuhutu*, an aquatic insect, is a parent of the dragon fly; the sting ray is a parent of the shark; and so on. The parts of an object may be its progenitors; for instance, trunk (*tumu*) produces the ashwood tree. The genealogy of an insect is based on its habitat—"Branch by copulating with Cut-crotch produces the beetle-living-in-rotten-wood."

Typically Polynesian is the device by which an object is made the offspring of its personified qualities. Thus acridness and bad taste produce the *kafe*, a tuber which is extremely bitter when not well cooked. Sharpness and adz are the parents of obsidian, from which knives and spearheads were made. Killing is the father of the dangerous shark (*niuhi*).

Sometimes one parent has the same name as the progeny. Thus, the ti by copulating with the ta produces the ti; the dragon fly (*veke*) by copulating with the *pohuhutuhutu* insect produces the dragon fly. As the grammatical form is not identical for parent and offspring, the author of the chant probably differentiated between the two words.

Sometimes the choice of parents seems to be based on alliteration: for instance Ti and Ta produce Ti; Ka-noho-tata-poro is mother of Poporo, and Poro is one of the parents of Poporo. The function of certain objects has led to the choice of these parents. Thus, Ta (tattoo) has been selected as the mother of Ti probably because charcoal made of ti leaves was used for tattooing.

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539 If the end of the chant were not so garbled, it might give a hint as to its practical
773 value and the circumstances in which it was recited. The last verse stresses the im-
776 portance of the yam (*uhi*) and sweet potato (*kumara*), which were the staple foods of the island.

PRIESTS

793 Our knowledge of the nature and organization of the priesthood is so slight and so confused that no clear distinction may be made between the high priests and the ordinary magicians or sorcerers. It is not possible to ascertain whether the ancient priesthood was always loosely organized or whether the original institutions were forgotten after the Peruvian raid of 1862 which crushed the native civilization of the island.

Undoubtedly the gods were attended by priests, although Geiseler (87, p. 33) and Routledge (194, p. 239) declare there were no priests, and Thomson (215, p. 470) affirms that native priests were simply wizards and sorcerers. However, Roussel (190, p. 360), our best authority on Easter Island, says: "There were priests and priestesses. Their functions were reduced to very few things: to preside at the rejoicings on the occasion of the birth of a child and to drive away the bad spirits of a sick man." Priests also composed and recited chants in honor of the dead. Such limited activity does not tally with the exalted social position of the priests; according to Roussel they were next in rank after the king.

793 We have already seen (p. 312) that Makemake manifested his will through
787 male and female priests. These servants of the gods were inspired by the
782 deity who entered their bodies and spoke through their mouths. The offerings of chickens, fish, and sweet potatoes were received by these priests, who also demanded human sacrifices. This information, although scant, shows that on Easter Island the power and duties of the priests did not differ very much from the general Polynesian pattern.

793 My informants and those of Routledge always attributed the performance of the religious and magic rites to the *ariki-paka*, who were noblemen of the Miru tribe (p. 129). While it is very likely that the chief priests were recruited from the royal or aristocratic families, it is doubtful that all the *ariki-paka* were fit for these functions.

171 The close association between nobility and priesthood is a common feature
793 in Polynesian culture, many instances of which have been recorded on other islands. The tapus surrounding the *ariki* were, in many respects, analogous to those of the priests. The sacredness of kingship and nobility linked the *ariki* very closely with ceremonial life. A hint of the priestly nature of certain *ariki* functions is to be found in a statement made by Geiseler (87, p. 33) on the authority of Salmon: "In early days when the kings enjoyed important power and respect, they functioned as priests and they started and they led the religious festivities."

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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RELIGIOUS RITUAL

There will always be doubt as to whether the old religious ceremonies on Easter Island were of the same complexity and importance as those of other Polynesian islands. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 69), who stayed on the island for a long time, never saw any ceremony connected with the ahu or any other sacred place and never saw the natives in an act of religious worship. If the Orongo feasts were performed in honor of Makemake, as I believe, they are the only evidence of the god cult about which data are available. However, the ceremonies at Orongo occurred only once a year and did not represent the ordinary method of worship.

Offerings and Sacrifices to the Gods

The gods, especially Makemake, received offerings of food and tapa cloths, presented by the people through their priests. Before every meal an offering of food was made to some god, generally to Makemake and Haua, occasionally to some lesser god. According to the legend I collected, this custom was introduced by Haua and Makemake themselves (p. 313). Estella (79, pp. 29-30) records the following tale which may be a variant of the myth I obtained or it may be the result of Estella's combined ignorance and fancy:

> Atua Makemake took a man of the island who was called Peku-angoohu. As this man did not offer to the god any *umu* (earth oven) or any sacrifice, he transferred him to a far away island named Motu Matiro-hiva to punish him for his lack of religiousness. There he was obliged to look after the fish left by the tide on the shore.
>
> When the punished man did not come back after several months, his father became very sad. A man of the island went in search of Atua Makemake. As he knew that the god had gone to the island of Motu Matiro-hiva, he set out for this land. Instead of finding the god he found Peku-angoohu. "What are you doing?" he asked. "I am undergoing the pain imposed on me by Makemake." "I am looking for him. What is the reason for your punishment?" "It is because I did not offer him *umu*." "You are stupid, why do you not prepare an earth oven full of chickens, bananas, sweet potatoes, and the other things you have? You will offer them to Atua Makemake and he will have pity on you."
>
> Peku-angoohu did as he had been told and the god accepted his offering. He appeared suddenly and spoke in a friendly way with the two men. He forgave the punished man. The other one, who was good, asked the god to teach him how to make houses and implements and requested Makemake to give him horses, cows, sheep, and other things. Atua Makemake agreed to his request and the two happy men went back to Easter Island.
>
> The father of Peku-angoohu was greatly pleased to see his son again and they lived peacefully together never forgetting to make an offering of *umu* to the god.

Human Sacrifices

Under very serious circumstances, probably in times of emergency or on the occasion of an important ceremony, Makemake asked for human sacrifices. The victims were children kidnapped by the priests, prisoners, or persons who had incurred the displeasure of the king. (See 87, p. 31; 215, p. 473.)

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
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which the competition for the egg continued and it was still taken to be interred at Raraku. The cult thus survived in a mutilated form the conversion of the island to Christianity, which was completed in 1868, and even the assembly of the remains of the clans into one place which took place about the same time; but it was finally crushed by the secular exploiters of the island, whose house is built at Mataveri with the foundation stones of the cannibal habitations. The request to be given the names of as many bird years as could be remembered met with an almost embarrassing response, eighty-six being quoted straight away; some of these may be the official names of bird-men and not represent a year, but they probably do so in most cases. Chronological sequence was achieved with fair certainty for eleven years prior to Rokunga, and in each case, in addition to the bird-name, the winner's own name was obtained as well as his clan and his family or sub-division; the hopu's name was also ascertained and his clan and subdivision. This list, though it doubtless is not complete, stood reasonably well the test of re-examination and extraneous evidence. Further back, though there is every reason to suppose that the year names given are authentic, the clans and other data supplied were not so reliable. The names of the iviatua who prophesied the event have not survived in the same manner.[1]

Legend relates that the manu-tara were not originally on Motu Nui. They lived, it is said, at one time, on a rock off the east end of the island, but every one came and ate them, so Hawa and Maké-maké sent them to a place on the mainland on the south coast, but still every one ate them; then they went up to the top of Rano Kao on the opposite side of the crater from Orongo and here was held the first festival; finally the birds went to Motu Nui.

[1] This folk-memory for bird chronicles is in curious contrast with the impossibility experienced in obtaining any satisfactory list of the "ariki" or chiefs, though they are said to have been only thirty in number.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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unlike the paved approach to some of the ahu. A demonstration was given of the way it was used. The dancers, "fine men, fine women," as was explained with emphasis, proceeding along it single file, holding rapa in both hands. In connection with some or all of the kaunga there was a house where the party remained indoors for a long time previous to the dances, in order to "get their complexions good," a touch which shows that a white skin was admired.

These feasts were held in certain months only, determined by the appearance of the heavens after nightfall. On the extremity of the eastern headland there is an outcrop of boulders, one of which is incised with a spiral design; the place is known as "Ko Te Papa-ui-hetuu," or, "The Rock-for-seeing-stars," and here the old men came to watch the constellations. About two hundred yards from these boulders there is another engraved stone on which ten cup-shaped depressions are visible; this represented, it is said, "a map of the stars."

The season for the Paina depended on the position of the three central stars of Orion, with regard to which the following story is related. A certain married woman, on going down to bathe, was carried off by a stranger. When her husband discovered this, he slew her in his anger, and she fled up to be a star. The husband then took their two boys, one in each hand, and followed her to the sky, where the three form the belt of Orion. The wife, however, would have nothing to do with them, and remained in a separate part of the heavens. This is the only nature myth which we encountered on the island.

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invite them to partake; it was etiquette to mention with your own the patron of any guest who was present. There was no sacrifice; the invitation to the supernatural power was purely formal, or restricted to the essence of the food only. Nevertheless, the aku-aku, in this at least being human, were amiable or the reverse according to whether or not they were well fed. If they were hungry, they ate women and children, and one was reported as having a proclivity for stealing potatoes; if, on the contrary, they were well-disposed to a man, they would do work for him, and he would wake in the morning to find his potato-field dug, which, as our informant truly remarked, was "no like Kanaka."

The aku-aku appeared in human form, in which they were indistinguishable from ordinary persons. One known as Uka-o-hoheru looked like a very beautiful woman, and was the wife of a young Tupahotu who had no idea she was really a tatane. She lived with him at Mahatua on the north coast, and bore him a child. One very wet day she was obliged to leave the house to take fresh fire to the cooking-place where it had gone out. When she returned, her husband was angry that she had no red paint on her face, and, not heeding her explanation that the rain had washed it off, took a stick to beat her. She ran away, and he followed, till at last she sat down on the edge of the eastern headland, where there is now an ahu known by her name. When by and by he came up, she told him to go back and look after the child, and fled away like a rushing whirlwind over the sea and was no more seen.

Two other female tatane are reported to have lived together in a cave on the cliff-side of Paréhé,[1] whose names were Kava-ara and Kava-tua. They heard all men tell of the beauty of a certain Uré-a-hohové, a young man who lived near Hanga Roa; so they went down to see him, put him to sleep, and carried him on his mat up to their cave, where they left him. Before going away they told an old woman, also an aku-aku, that she was not to go and look into the cave. This she naturally proceeded to do, and, finding Uré, warned him to eat nothing the two tatane might give to him, supplying him herself with some

[1] The outermost of the three hillocks on the eastern volcano on which the Spaniards set up the crosses in 1770. Half of it has been worn away by coastal erosion (fig. 76).

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chicken. When therefore his captors came back and offered him food, he only pretended to take it, and ate the chicken instead. They then went away again. The old woman came back, and said, "If cockroaches come, kill them; if flies come, kill them; but if a crab comes, do not kill it." Uré did as he was told, and killed the cockroaches and flies, which were other tatane; but the crab he did not kill, it was the old woman. Meanwhile for many days the father of Uré wept for him, till some men sailing under the cliff while fishing, heard a song, and looking up saw the missing man; but they would not go and fetch him, though the father gave them much food, for the cliff was steep and the cave difficult to reach. At last a woman volunteered for the task, and was lowered over the cliff in a net, and by this means succeeded in fetching Uré safely to the top. The history ends with his return to his home, and does not mention if, in correct fashion, he married his fair deliverer.

Aku-aku were not immortal. A man called Raraku, after whom the mountain is said to have been named, caught a big "heke," which seems to have been an octopus, in the sea near Tongariki and ate it, with the result that he went mad, and all people gave chase to him. He caught up a wooden lizard (fig. 117), and, using it as a club, ran amok among tatane across the north shore and down the west coast, killing them right and left; the names of twenty-three were given who thus met their fate.

Human beings, on the other hand, were liable to be attacked by tatane, more particularly at night, when there was risk, not only to their bodies, but also to their own spirits,[1] which were at large while they slept. It is still firmly believed that in dreams the soul visits any locality present to the thought. On one of the ahu is a rough erection of slabs, said to be the house of the aku-aku Mata-wara-wara, or "Strong-Rain." He had as a partner another aku-aku called Papai-a-taki-vera, and they arranged between them that Mata should bring on rain, while Papai constructed a house of reeds which was only there at night; then when the spirits of sleeping people, which were wandering abroad, became cold with the rain, they went into the house and the tatane killed them. The unfortunate sleeper waked in the morning feeling distinctly unwell, he lingered on for two or three

[1] The same word aku-aku was used for the spirit both of the living and the dead, or else the Tahitian "varua"; they were said to be equivalent.

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days, and then died. It was not essential to life to have a soul, but you could not really get on comfortably without it. No knowledge survives of any belief or ideas with regard to a future state. The spirit, it was said, appeared occasionally for five or ten years after a man's death and then vanished.

Pan in the shape of tatane is by no means dead. Not only do such beings haunt the crater of Rano Raraku, but tales are told of weird apparitions at dusk which vanish mysteriously into space.

There were no priests, but certain men, known as "koromaké," practised spells which would secure the death of an enemy, and there was also the class known as "ivi-atua," which included both men and women. The most important of these ivi-atua, of whom it was said there might be perhaps ten in the island, held commune with the aku-aku, others were able to prophesy, and could foresee the whereabouts of fish or turtle, while some had the gift of seeing hidden things, and would demand contributions from a secreted store of bananas or potatoes, in a way which was very disconcerting to the owner.

There was practically only one religious function of a general nature; it was very popular and had a surprising origin. Attention was attracted on the south coast by a particularly long stoep of rounded pebbles measuring 139 feet, and obviously connected with a thatched house now disappeared. That, our guides said in answer to a question, "is a haré-a-té-atua, where they praised the gods." "What gods?" "The men who came from far away in ships. They saw they had pink cheeks, and they said they were gods." The early voyagers, for the cult went back at least three generations, were therefore taken for deities in the same way as Cook was at Hawaii. The simplest form of this celebration took place on long mounds of earth known as "miro-o-orne," or earth-ships, of which there are several in the island, one of them with a small mound near it to represent a boat. Here the natives used to gather together and act the part of a European crew, one taking the lead and giving orders to the others. A more formal ceremony was held in a large house. This had three doors on each side by which the singers entered, who were up to a hundred in number, and ranged themselves in lines within; in one house, of which a diagram was drawn, a deep hole was dug in the middle, at the

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strenuously denied by the present people, who assert that their ancestors arrived with plenty of food. The figures have long ears, like the statues in stone, and a marked feature is their little goatee beards. These beards are found in three or four statues at Raraku, in a head in relief on Motu Nui, and one is indicated in fig. 31. But the most striking link with the stone figures is the back, where there is a ring similar to that found on the larger statues: the girdle and M-like design below it also appear in varying degree (fig. 120). A comparative study of the backs of the wooden images has suggested the idea[1] that this M-like marking in stone may be simply the last stage of an evolution in design, which originally showed the lines of the lower portion of the back and thigh.[2] It would be satisfactory if, in the same way, the triple belt could be connected with the ribs and the ring with the vertebræ, but for this the evidence is less conclusive, although the ribs of the body with the lizard head closely approach the conventional. It must be remembered that the figures are nude, and that therefore these designs can scarcely represent any form of dress. There is a pronounced excrescence on the buttocks in the wooden figures, which is also a mystery, but which recalls the way in which the rings on the image found at Anakena (fig. 65) and those on the poki-manu (fig. 114) emphasise the same part of the anatomy. The heads are embellished with ornaments, some of which are bird designs (fig. 121). These figures were worn by men only, and hung round the neck on important occasions; they were parts of the festival dress at Mataveri and at the koro.

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The tradition of the origin of the wooden images is one of the best known and uniformly narrated, but obviously bears the marks of endeavouring to explain facts whose genesis has been forgotten. It runs thus: Tuukoihu, an ariki, and one of the first immigrants, was a clever man or "tangata-maori"; he had two houses, one at Ahu Tepeu on the west side and one at Hanga Hahavé on the south coast—the foundations of both are shown. One night, when he was sleeping at the latter dwelling, two female aku-aku appeared to him, by name Papa Ahiro and Papa

[1] We owe this suggestion to Captain T. A. Joyce.

[2] Those unacquainted with the manner in which the drawing of a natural object can, through constant repetition, lose all resemblance to it and become purely conventional are referred to *Evolution in Art*, by Dr. A. C. Haddon.

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Akirani.[1] When he awoke he took the wood called toro-miro, and carved two figures with faces, arms, and legs, just as he had seen the aku-aku. When he had finished the work, he went over to Hanga Roa to fish. He slept there, and returned at daybreak, going back by the quarry of the stone hats. Two male aku-aku by name Ko Hitirau and Ko Nuku-te-mangoa, were sleeping by the way, but were aroused on his approach by two more aku-aku, whose names are given, who told them that there was a man coming who would notice that their ribs were exceedingly "bad." The two sleepers awoke, saw Tuukoihu, and asked him, "Have you seen anything?" He discreetly replied "nothing," and they disappeared. They again met him on the road and put the same question, to which he gave the same answer. When he got to his house, he made two statues with ribs to represent the apparitions. After dark they prowled round the house, listening, with their hands up to their ears, to hear if he gossiped about what he had seen, intending if he did so to kill him. The Ariki, however, held his tongue. Later he went to his other home; there he took the wooden moai, both male and female, and made them walk. The house bears the lengthy name of "The House of the Walking Moai of Tuukoihu, the Ariki," and is the large one whose measurements were given on p. 216. Tuukoihu once lent a moai-miro to a man, whose house took fire while it was in his possession. The Ariki, on hearing of the disaster, told the image to fly away, which it promptly did, and was subsequently found in the neighbourhood unharmed.

Wooden figures are said to have been made in a considerable variety of forms, some of them being in a sitting position, others with hands crossed, etc.; names were bestowed on them—twenty-one such were repeated to us. It was not found possible to ascertain exactly what they are all intended to portray, the information being somewhat confused and contradictory, but on the whole the female figures and those with ribs seem to have been considered to be supernatural beings; they are generally called aku-aku, and sometimes atua, while the others represent

[1] The term "papa" is also applied to any flat, horizontal surface of fused igneous rock. The double use seems to be explained by connecting it with the facts that in Hawaii, Papa is the name of the female progenitor of the race (or at least of a line of chiefs), while in the Marquesas and Hervey Islands Papa is the earth personified, the Great Mother.—See *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People*, Alexander, p. 20.